

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Number 1

The Faith of Free Men

G. BROMLEY OXNAM *

The formation of the World Council of Churches is one of the most significant achievements in the history of the Christian Church.

Amsterdam declared and demonstrated that the differences that lie in doctrinal statement and ecclesiastical practice are subordinate to and of lesser significance than the identities that lie in a common faith in Jesus Christ as God incarnate and Savior.

Amsterdam proved that men and women of many races and of many nations can worship, witness, and work together. True unity will emerge from such common experiences.

Amsterdam established an organization through which Christians of the world may study, serve, speak and stand together.

Amsterdam recognized that with denominational differences precious truth is present, and that in the mutual sharing of spiritual possessions all become richer and none poorer. A least common denominator, immediate *union*, would be of less value to the eventual reunion of the churches than the present preservation of the creative contributions of each denomination in the greatest common denominator, *unity*, now possible. There can be *union* without *unity*, and *unity* without *union*. It would appear that the road that leads to the churches becoming the church is by way of the reunion of confessional families first. Then may come the reuniting of related confessions. And some day, please God, the Holy Catholic Church in which there is *unity* within *union*.

Amsterdam proved that intellectually honest men and women can pursue truth together in mutual respect, rejecting at once all attempts to coerce in the name of conformity or to control in the name of hierarchical authority. Within the conditions of freedom, relying upon democratic processes and rejecting any thought of super-church or ecclesiastical totalitarianism, Amsterdam established a World Council of Churches. The basic unit is the individual church free to express its convictions and to preserve its forms, but bound by the law of love as revealed in Christ.

Amsterdam faced the baffling issues of international order and of economic and social organization realistically, and insisted that the church is obligated to give itself to those

endeavors through which the moral law may come alive in the practice of the group life. All social systems are to be judged by the ethical ideals of the faith. Christians refuse to identify the Gospel with any economic theory or order.

Amsterdam created friendships and understandings; and in the hearts and minds of delegates are to be found the love and respect upon which the structures of the future will be reared.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, whose chairman is under indictment for activities allegedly un-American and criminal, has now presumed to speak in the field of religion. It would appear from the press reports that the Committee has been more interested in a futile attempt to discredit the word "Protestant" than to ascertain the truth relative to forces that would undermine our national life.

The fundamental principles of Protestantism are essential to the maintenance of democracy:

Protestants stand for the free man in a free society, seeking the truth that frees, and, in the light of that truth, making democratic decisions in the interest of the common good.

Protestants reject the un-American and un-Christian doctrine that a totalitarian hierarchy is ordained or qualified to make binding decisions for free men in the realm of morality and faith.

Protestants are particularly alarmed when a hierarchy arrogates to itself the right to decide what books a free man may or may not read. Protestants see a threat to political liberty in attempts of a hierarchy to determine the vote of free citizens.

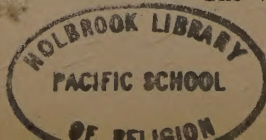
Protestants want the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. They believe that conspirators who would destroy our freedom can be ferreted out and properly punished better by the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than by the hearsay and un-American procedures of this Committee that now enters the field of religion. Protestants reject all forms of totalitarianism, political, economic, and ecclesiastical.

Protestants are fearful that men trained to take their morality and their religious thinking upon the dictates of a totalitarian hierarchy are in danger of being so conditioned that they may take their politics from a dictator and their economics from a party.

The Thomas Committee knows perfectly well that any attempt to identify the Protestant Churches with Communism is destined to failure because based upon absolute falsehood.

The World Council of Churches declared: "We denounce

* By Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Bishop of the New York Area of the Methodist Church and a President of the World Council of Churches, at a dinner in the Essex House, Newark, N. J., Tuesday evening, November 23, 1948, attended by 700 laymen and ministers of the Newark (covering Northern New Jersey) Conference of the Methodist Church. Presiding, Mr. Kinsey N. Merritt of Elizabeth, N. J., vice-president of the Railway Express Agency and Conference Lay-Leader. Speaker introduced by Attorney Charles C. Parlin, of New York and Englewood, a lay delegate to the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam.



all forms of tyranny. economic, political or religious, which deny liberty to men. We utterly oppose totalitarianism, wherever found, in which a state arrogates to itself the right of determining men's thoughts and actions instead of recognizing the rights of each individual to do God's will according to his conscience. In the same way, we oppose any church which seeks to use the power of the state to enforce religious conformity. We resist all endeavors to spread a system of thought or of economics by unscrupulous intolerance, suppression, or persecution." Also, "The Church should seek to resist the extension of any system that not only includes oppressive elements but fails to provide any means by which the victims of oppression may criticize or act to correct it. It is a part of the mission of the Church to raise its voice of protest wherever men are the victims of terror, wherever they are denied such fundamental human rights as the right to be secure against arbitrary arrest, and wherever governments use torture and cruel punishments to intimidate consciences of men."

I had the honor to write the resolution that subsequently became the official position of The Methodist Church in 1936, which read:

"Believing in both the democratic form and the democratic ideal, we propose to resist every form of dictatorship, whether it comes from the left of Communism or the right of Fascism. We will resist all attempts of those who profess to fight subversive movements, while in reality they pursue policies that destroy the very democracy they profess to defend. We will make effort to maintain democratic government and to retain those great guarantees of freedom which have been written into the Constitution of the United States, and the other democratic Constitutions of the world, because the truth that makes men free cannot be proclaimed in states wherein freedom itself is destroyed."

I likewise had the honor to write the Episcopal Address which was subsequently adopted by our Council of Bishops and signed by each of the episcopal leaders of the Church. In it is this sentence:

"We reject Communism, its materialism, its method of class war, its use of dictatorship, its fallacious economics, and its false theory of social development; but we know that the only way to defeat it permanently is to use the freedom of our own democracy to establish economic justice and racial brotherhood. It is the man who is not exploited who is deaf to the slogan 'abolish the exploitation of man by man'. It is the man who knows he is treated justly who refuses the sinister suggestion of revolutionary activity to win justice. The most effective anti-toxin to dictatorship abroad is life-giving democracy at home. It is a healthy democracy that is immune to communist bacteria."

It is singularly strange that the Committee on Un-American Activities should have been silent concerning the fascist threat to our freedom. Our sons died to destroy the threats of Nazi Germany and of Fascist Italy. It would be illuminating to know how many priests were allied with fascist groups in enemy countries, how many Concordats were signed with such lands, why Franco was called a 'Son of the Church', why at the moment there is such insistent demand that we recognize the Spanish dictator.

What is back of these libelous attempts to discredit Protestantism? Reactionary forces know that Protestantism is demanding social justice and racial brotherhood. Some of these forces who are primarily interested in keeping their own special privileges rather than establishing justice seek to block reasonable reform by attacking those who would establish righteousness.

(Continued on page 16)

Baptists Ask Jury Trial for "Un-American" Defendants

The Cleveland Baptist Association recently challenged the "maladjustment of law" being used by the House un-American activities committee to "accuse and charge people and organizations without a fair, open hearing."

Action of the association, led by Dr. D. R. Sharpe, executive secretary, was recorded in a resolution unanimously adopted by the trustees at a meeting in the Cleveland Athletic Club.

The resolution demanded trial by jury for any person or institution accused of un-American activities by the House committee. It also went on record as demanding that the 24 employees of the post office here who have been "indicted as Communists" by a private investigation be given open hearing in a court of law.

Dr. Sharpe said the Cleveland Baptist Association was trying to point out to the public that the report released last week by the un-American activities committee, charging that Communists had infiltrated in some Protestant organizations, was "unthinkable." The resolution was, in part, he added, a retort to such ridiculous charges.

Seeks to Correct Wrongs

The report issued by the House committee had cited the Methodist Federation for Social Action as a "tool of the Communist party." The federation is an unofficial church unit. The report had stated further that the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and some church groups, like the Epworth League, were being used by Communists.

Repeating the statements of the resolution, Dr. Sharpe said these charges were "un-American, unfounded and false." The resolution recommended that "every person or institution accused by the House committee should be given a trial by jury, the same as has been granted to J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the House un-American activities committee, for his alleged wrongdoing."

CORRECTION

The October issue of the *Bulletin* referred to J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as a Methodist layman residing in the New Jersey Conference. This was in error. The Methodist minister in Allendale, N. J., home of Mr. Thomas, informs us that Mr. Thomas is not a member of his church nor does he attend services there.

Baltimore, Md.—When Arthur Jackson left home, he wrote a farewell note for his wife explaining he was sick and tired of her and the four children. Then he signed it, "Your loving husband."

An American millionaire, who was a very poor shot, went bird-hunting in India. When he and his guide returned after a hard day in the jungles, the American wife sarcastically inquired of the guide, "Well, how did my husband shoot today?"

"Sahib shoot beautifully," said the tactful native guide, "but heaven was very merciful to the birds."—Webb B. Garrison.

Said a married man ruefully to his friend, "Polygamy would never work in this country. Imagine six wives in a kitchenette!"—New York Star.

House Group Tells Red Plot Against Religion

By David Sentner

Los Angeles Examiner Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22.—The Communist plan to destroy American religion and substitute the Marxian "faith" of atheism was revealed today in a House Committee on Un-American Activities report.

The names of several Communist clergymen, Red religious fronts and Moscow-directed anti-religion propaganda publications were listed in the document entitled "100 things you should know about Communism and religion."

It warned that the YMCA and the Epworth League were particular Communist targets in the field of religious groups.

The committee report, cited Williams, Presb

Q. What is the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

A. A tool of the Communist Party, denounced by numerous loyal American Methodists. It claims to speak for 17 Methodist bishops and 4000 clerics and laymen. Not an official church organization.

Q. Where is it located and what is it trying to do?

A. 150 Fifth ave., New York

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NOTE DATES!

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: November 29, 1948

FOR: Honorable B. W. Kearney

SUBJECT: Methodist Federation for Social Action

The Committee on Un-American Activities has never investigated nor cited the Methodist Federation for Social Action and there is very little information in file concerning the activities of the group. From various newspaper clippings on file with the Committee, we find that the following officers and speakers were in attendance at a Conference of the group held in Kansas City in December 1947:

Jack McMichael, Executive Secretary
Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, retiring President
Bishop Robert N. Brooks, (New Orleans), elected President
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, elected Vice President
Bishop Louis T. Watkins (Louisville), elected Vice President
Dr. Harry F. Ward, keynote speaker
Carl Marzani, speaker
Dr. Jerome Davis, speaker
Bishop W. Earl Ledden (Syracuse), active leader in Conference
Bishop Edward Kelly, active leader in Conference
Bishop Charles Brashares (Iowa City), active leader in Conference

A check of the files, records and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the persons listed above have com-

✓ were not present

A Statement by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church^{*}

The Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives has issued a report entitled "100 Things You Ought to Know About Communism and Religion." The declared intent of the report is to inform churchmen what will happen to them and their church if Communism ever takes over the United States of America. The apparent effect of the report is to create the impression that the churches have been infiltrated by communists and that responsible leaders of the churches follow the party line.

The news stories, editorials and commentator broadcasts have centered upon those sections of the report that by innuendo seek to discredit such noble Christian organizations as the Young Mens Christian Association and the Young Womens Christian Association. One of the great theological seminaries of the nation is named by the clever device of asking, "Do Communist propagandists ever actually get before church groups as speakers?" The answer is given, "Yes. For example, the head of the Communist Party, on one occasion at least, spoke at Union Theological Seminary in New York City."

Another question asks "Is the Y. M. C. A. a Communist target?" The answer is "Yes. So is the Y. W. C. A. Also, church groups such as the Epworth League." In this catechetical form no evidence is presented. The incompetency of the investigators is revealed in the reference to "the Epworth League", which has not been in existence during the last nine years. The Epworth League was one of the youth organizations of the former Methodist Episcopal Church and the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South. When the reunion of the Methodist churches occurred in 1939, the youth organizations of the uniting churches were discontinued and a new organization known as The Methodist Youth Fellowship was established. But the report of the Un-American Activities Committee affirms the Communists have dug into the Epworth League and are "at it today." Thus the nation is informed that an organization not in existence is being infiltrated today. As the Bishops of the Church we desire to affirm our full confidence in the patriotism and religious devotion of the hundreds of thousands of Methodist youth and to express our deep resentment of any attempt to question their loyalty.

We do not here comment upon the procedures of this Committee and the way its hearings at times have been conducted. We do declare that the publishing of falsehood concerning individuals who have never been interviewed, who have had no opportunity to refute allegations, in a word, for a body to act as a court, jury and executioner, without the individual or organizations concerned being heard, is contrary to American tradition and in effect is to jeopardize our freedom. Nor, do we, at the moment, do more than call attention to the strange fact that only Protestant organizations are attacked in this report. We have far more confidence in the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than in the hearsay and un-American procedures of this Committee that now enters the field of religion, regardless of its disavowal of that fact.

We expressly deny that communism has infiltrated our Protestant churches. In the "Episcopal Address" signed by all the bishops of The Methodist Church and read before the General Conference of The Methodist Church in Boston last May, it was declared "In an hour when totalitarianism threatens freedom, it is imperative that we ourselves do not adopt the practices of the totalitarian state in order to

destroy the totalitarian threat. The totalitarian has conquered when the defender of democracy discards the civil liberties that are the essence of democracy. . . . We are determined that free preachers, occupying a free pulpit, preaching to free laymen in a free land shall proclaim the freeing truth of the religion of Jesus." In an extended section dealing with communism, apparently unknown to the Committee on Un-American Activities, the bishops said "We reject communism, its materialism, its method of class war, its use of dictatorship, its fallacious economics and its false theory of social development; but we know that the only way to defeat it permanently is to use the freedom of our own Democracy to establish economic justice and racial brotherhood. It is the man who is not exploited who is deaf to the slogan 'abolish the exploitation of man by man.' It is the man who knows he is treated justly who refuses the sinister suggestion of revolutionary activity to win justice . . . Communism will never win a democratic and just America. Communism does not grow in the soil of freedom and justice. It takes root in the soil of exploitation. It is Democracy—more of it, not less of it—that will win the morrow."

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on Oct. 11, 1946 declared " . . . Marxist communism in its orthodox philosophy stands clearly opposed to Christianity. It is atheistic in its conception of ultimate reality and materialistic in its view of man and his destiny. Its utopian philosophy of history lacks the essential Christian notes of divine judgment, divine governance, and eternal victory. Its revolutionary strategy involves the disregard of the sacredness of personality which is fundamental in Christianity."

The World Council of Churches at Amsterdam this summer declared, "We denounce all forms of tyranny, economic, political or religious, which deny liberty to men. We utterly oppose totalitarianism, wherever found, in which a state arrogates to itself the right of determining men's thoughts and actions instead of recognizing the right of each individual to do God's will according to his conscience. In the same way we oppose any church which seeks to use the power of the state to enforce religious conformity. We resist all endeavor to spread a system of thought or of economics by unscrupulous intolerance, suppression or persecution. . . . The Church should seek to resist the extension of any system, that not only includes oppressive elements but fails to provide any means by which the victims of oppression may criticize or act to correct it. It is a part of the mission of the Church to raise its voice of protest wherever men are the victims of terror, wherever they are denied such fundamental human rights as the right to be secure against arbitrary arrest, and wherever governments use torture and cruel punishments to intimidate consciences of men."

These quotations serve to indicate the true position of The Methodist Church, and the great cooperative agencies of the churches, namely, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the World Council of Churches.

We call upon the American press, whose freedom is also likely to be jeopardized by the methods of this Committee on Un-American Activities, and also upon the American radio, which has such a stake in freedom, to correct the false impressions given the American people by stories and comments upon this Report. Let the leaders of the press confer with the leaders of the Church and become acquainted with the truth. Let them examine their use of statements by a few ministers, no one of whom occupies a place of responsible leadership in the major denominations of the nation, but who have been quoted as "eminent divines" fully conversant with what is alleged to be communist infiltration into American churches.

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^{*} Enacted and signed by the Council of Bishops meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 2, 1948, and released by Bishop James C. Baker of Los Angeles, president of the Council, through the office of the Council's Secretary, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Press, Meet the Methodists!

"R. No. 1, Union Grove, Wis.
"December 2, 1948.

"The Kenosha Evening News,
"Kenosha, Wisconsin.
"Dear Editor:

"In reference to the article that appeared in your newspaper, Nov. 22, entitled "Two Religious Groups Given Redism Label," we would like to say that you are helping to attack innocent groups in a malicious way.

"The statement concerning the inroads of communism made into the Epworth League suggests that the Committee made pronouncements (to arouse public sentiment in U. S.) without thorough investigation, since the Epworth League has not existed since 1939 when three branches of Methodism united.

"The other Methodist organization attacked was the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The entire purpose and program of the M.F.S.A. cannot be presented here, but the Federation states that it is Christian in its motivation and wholly devoted to the promotion of human welfare along lines inspired by Christianity and implicit in the historic position of Methodism."

"Other newspapers have mistaken the Christian principles of this organization for communism, and upon investigation have found such accusations to be untrue. In the New York Times, March 21, 1948, the following retraction was made:

"The New York Times, published on Dec. 28, 1947, a dispatch from the U.P. from Kansas City, Missouri, which referred to the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, as 'former chairman of the Young Communist League and now executive secretary of the Federation.' This was an error. The Rev. Jack R. McMichael has never been chairman of the Young Communist League, nor is he connected with any other communist organization."

"An organization does not cease to be religious because it emphasizes social action. That merely makes it religious in Christian terms. The M.F.S.A. proposes the Christianization of society, nothing more or less. It "fronts" neither for communism nor for capitalism. Its "ism" is Christianity.

"Does the House Un-American Activities Committee have the final word on organizations and persons it has "labeled," or is there some truth it does not present in its publications? Even though the Committee seems not to be, the American press should nevertheless be dedicated to the truth!

"M.F.S.A. Members,
"MR. AND MRS. J. D. KLEIN."

"Schenectady, N. Y.

"Editor,
Schenectady Union Star,
Schenectady, N. Y.

"Dear Sir:

"A free press and a free pulpit are essential to our free way of life. When either becomes the tool, knowingly or unknowingly, of an axe-to-grind person or group, freedom is in jeopardy. The press does not fulfil its peculiar mission by defending things as they are and the pulpit is derelict if it becomes a chaplain of the status quo.

"When the press runs an article above its mast head a reader is led to believe that such is top news. The Schenectady Union Star on Monday, November 22, gives this spot to a pronouncement from the House Un-American Activities Committee. After reading the article one wonders where that committee turns for religious counsel and guidance. It implies that Protestant Churches and certain religiously motivated groups are being made, by subtle pressure,

the tools of Communist influence. Could it be that the Committee believes religion is a tradition, a reflection of public opinion or the chaplain of an economic system or a form of government? There are reactionaries in all churches who would give such counsel (and they have the right to do so), but they do not speak for the whole church.

"Many objectives claimed by "the Reds" find parallels in the objectives of the Christian Church. "Good news to the poor . . . release to the captives . . . sight to the blind . . . liberty (to the) . . . oppressed . . ." are phrases at the heart of the Christian Gospel and not uncommon in communist speeches and literature. The motives and methods of the Church, however, differ radically from the dictatorship methods used to reach such objectives.

"The release from the discredited House Un-American Activities Committee refers to the Epworth League (a Methodist youth organization which 8 years ago was replaced by the Methodist Youth Fellowship). This indicates a lack of reliable information and makes one wonder if the Committee is any better informed on other religious groups. The Methodist Federation for Social Action is declared to be "a tool of the Communist Party". The New York Times of December 28, 1947, joined in this same evaluation and linked its executive secretary, the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, with the Young Communist League. That same conscientious paper on March 21, 1948, published a retraction of its previous statement saying, in part, "The Rev. Jack R. McMichael has never been chairman of the Young Communist League nor is he connected with any other Communist organization."

"The press and the pulpit can and do make mistakes. And mistakes come most frequently when we are "cocksure" and dogmatic. We both need to do our part to increase general and specific sensitiveness to human need. In that process press and pulpit endeavor to find out what people are thinking as well as doing, and to try to discover God's will and purpose for his world. The House Un-American Activities Committee seems, to many churchmen, a not too reliable authority for learning what is news and what is religion."

Truly yours,

REV. LEON M. ADKINS,
First Methodist Church,
Schenectady, N. Y.

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BULLETIN

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REV. ALSON J. SMITH, Editor

The METHODIST FEDERATION
for SOCIAL ACTION
(Unofficial)

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Behind the Headlines

Roughly assessing the Paris session of the U.N., Gen. Marshall mentioned as the first gain that it had become clear to the assembled nations who was responsible for the failure to reach agreement, meaning of course the Soviet Union and its associates. This is another typical exhibition of the self righteousness which, from San Francisco on through, has been one of the factors hindering a settlement of the vital controversial issues. Like all self righteousness it produces, and is sustained by, self deception.

Certainly those neutrals who have been patiently trying to find a formula to end the conflict over Berlin, and also those who have come within sight of success in the Greek-Balkan situation by substituting mediation and conciliation for condemnation based on one sided evidence and consideration of only part of the situation, do not subscribe to this statement. They know well that the Soviet Union is not the only sinner in this modern world which now faces destruction as did Jerusalem of old when Jesus shattered the self righteousness of its rulers. Neither does the voting record support the impossible thesis that we are without blame for the impasse from which the U.N. is trying to extricate itself. The abstentions—their number and composition—tell the story. It is repeated in the forced withdrawal of our attempt to halt discussion on the atomic energy and disarmament issues, and again in the defeat of our final attempt to bail out Great Britain in Palestine after all our devious shifts.

The cloak of our self righteousness is splitting at the seams because the selfish interests it tries to conceal are too big to be covered by it. The pious professions of saving Western civilization that our spokesmen throw over the projects we started outside the U.N. no longer deceive anybody except those chosen to proclaim them to the world, and the simple, sincere people of good will whose ideals, like their incomes, are now being exploited to maintain the highest profits in history by armament production and government protected and guaranteed investments in Europe, Asia and Africa.

One gain from this session, for those of us who are trying to lift the paper curtain that conceals the truth from so many of our citizens is the extent to which the role of military strategy in our foreign policy has broken into the news. For the first time headlines have shouted that British policy in the Middle East (which we supported, first directly and then indirectly, despite certain differences for domestic reasons) "Rests On Need for Bases." That is the open argument of those who call for aid to Franco. Correspondents casually record in passing that our position on the disposition of Italian colonies has been determined by the needs of Western military strategy. The same consideration appears openly in news stories concerning our policy in China, Japan, Korea, and Western Germany. Our arming of the imperialist forces that are shooting down the peasants and workers of Malaya, Indonesia and Indo-China is explained by the need of our military-economic program for the raw materials of those areas. The purposes that at the beginning of the cold war were being discussed in the secrecy of government offices are now being proclaimed from the house-top. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," and then act on what he hears.

The same is true in lesser degree concerning the role of the military in policy making, a danger against which Sumner Welles is constantly warning the nation. Writing from Paris concerning decisions on proposals to end the Berlin crisis Hamilton of the *New York Times* says: "... the Western powers—in other words the United States, since Secretary of State Marshall and Gen. Lucius D. Clay, the United States commander in Germany, are recognized as the controlling factors on the Western side. . . ." An incident

which has severely strained our relations with France and may yet play a part in bringing DeGaulle to power was a decision of the American and British commanders in Germany that the ultimate ownership of the Ruhr industries should be determined by an elected German government. The British have agreed, and understood that Washington did, that this vital question for the future of Europe should be settled in the peace treaty. Callender of the *New York Times* wrote from Paris: "There is ample authority for saying that the announcement of this decision by the Military Governors was made without the prior knowledge of Secretary Marshall." He adds that nobody has explained by what authority Generals Clay and Robertson proclaimed this decision.

Some light is thrown on that by a book just published entitled "The Embers Still Burn". It is the inside story of UNNRA in Europe by Ira Hirshmann who was special aide to LaGuardia, its chief. He presents first hand evidence that not long after the war ended American Military government in Germany was acting under a direction to give first priority to the rebuilding of the German economy.

The reports of our correspondents at the Paris session amplify the voting record and show our loss of friendship as well as prestige. They tell us of the growing fears among our beneficiaries of the consequences of our economic program, there and here, and of the political consequences of our inflexible attitude toward the Soviet Union. Leslie Roberts, distinguished Canadian journalist who contributes to some of the leading magazines, adds his judgment, in the book "Home From the Cold Wars", to that of others who have gone through Europe this year. He says bluntly that the United States by its foreign policy is alienating friends and making enemies everywhere. The U. S. block in the U.N. is not as solid as it was before the recent session. Its binding cement, compounded of fear of the Soviet Union and the need for American dollars, also relied upon to hold together the projected Atlantic Military Alliance, is beginning to crumble. It looks to have more value in securing government subsidies for American Big Business than in buliding and holding military power sufficient to defeat the Soviet Union and crush international communism.

This situation puts a big question mark after the conclusion of acting chief of our delegation Dulles that the result of the Paris session is "to reduce the risk of miscalculation which in my judgment is the most serious threat to world peace. It has been made plain that any nation that launched an attack would find itself at once opposed by most of the world." There are other miscalculations than the one Dulles had in mind which constitutes an increasing risk toward peace. They are actualities not a hypothetical possibility.

There is the misinterpretation of the Greek resistance movement as nothing but a communist attempt to seize power accompanied by an ignoring of the power of the passion for freedom. In our Chinese policy and program there is a complete failure to recognize the strength of the ancient hunger of the peasant for land and of the passionate desire of agricultural peoples for the benefits of the industrial era. In our treatment of the Soviet disarmament proposal as a "dangerous propaganda peace offensive" there is an almost cynical disregard of the cry for peace that arises from every country in Europe. The operations of the Truman Doctrine and ERP, added to their blocking of a more constructive program under the U.N. is making more dangerous the explosive forces within these unmet needs.

Then there are the miscalculations concerning the Soviet Union revealed in the speeches of our policy makers. In the past few weeks they have told the world that the Soviet

Union "can destroy but not build"; that it "only knows how to rule completely subservient people and cannot cooperate"; that it is the "antithesis of democracy"; that it is "the modern barbarians invading civilization." These statements are as far from the facts as the message that Secretary of War Stimson sent to President Roosevelt the day after Hitler invaded Russia. It said that he found among the Chiefs of Staff and the War Planning Division substantial unanimity in their estimates of the controlling facts that: "Germany will be thoroughly occupied in beating Russia for a minimum of one month and a possible maximum of three months." The war could never have been won by policies based on this miscalculation. Neither can the peace be won by policies based on the ignorance and misinformation revealed by those who now represent us in that still more difficult undertaking.

As the nature of their program brings failure after failure to our present policy makers, they increasingly ascribe the results to the Soviet Union. Thus they incite the frenzy of the witch hunt that is destroying the foundations of our democracy, and encourage the medicine men in uniforms and brass hats to beat the war drums louder. Supposedly educated statesmen faced with the inexorable fact that the sickness of the acquisitive society has reached the crisis stage talk and act like witch doctors. They have no scientific remedies, they are trusting blindly in the limited knowledge and impotent formulas of the past.

To add to this fateful tragedy those of your representatives in the international arena who are also prominent churchmen speak and vote at times like Scribes and Pharisees, as though the gospel of goodwill and moral reciprocity had never been written. And no voice from the headquarters of our religion reminds them of the mote and the beam, the first stone, the two men who went up to the temple to pray, and the dynamic relation of the truth conveyed by these incidents to the difficult struggle for peace.

This situation sounds a clear call to us, and to all others like us, to devise, as we did in the Great Depression, additional means to inform the people of our church of the facts and perils of our present national course and to point out the general change of direction by which alone these dangers can be escaped.

H. F. W.

In Your Papers?

Supreme Court Justice Douglas told the CIO Convention that American labor could counter the Soviet propaganda that in democratic nations "war is the only device that government can design to give maximum production and full employment." A few days later Dr. E. G. Nourse, Truman's economic adviser told the press: "The economy is at a critical point. Except for the enlarged defense program, and foreign outlays deflationary influences would be clearly evident by this time." The Stock Survey of Moody's service, with other financial journals in agreement, told its clients that "only increasing arms outlay seems likely to prevent a fairly marked and perhaps sharp business setback sometime in 1949. Barron's told industrialists that "If an enormously speeded up defense program, or warfare itself, should come, the problem of excess inventories would vanish completely." The NAM Convention was warned by some of its own members that the down trend of the business cycle curve is in sight and is only being held back by armament expenditures."

While Hoffman, chief of ECA, was telling the country how ERP was succeeding in Europe in restoring the capitalist economy so that it could raise the average income from \$320 to \$500, and was planning his tour to China, Japan and Korea in anticipation of possible action by Congress that

would put our economic offensive on the level of the global strategy our militarists have worked out, the New York Times Book Review was giving its front page to The European Recovery Program by Prof. Harris warning the American people about our over optimism. He holds that neither recovery nor financial stability mean of themselves that Western Europe will become self supporting. He is not hopeful that the Marshall Plan can restore the equilibrium between Europe's demand for American goods and its ability to pay for them. Also in the same paper Michael L. Hoffman was sending from the Hague concrete facts showing how the Plan threatens a crisis in the western European economies from its restriction of trade with Eastern Europe.

A Danish timber merchant asked correspondent Hoffman of the New York Times if he wanted to know why ERP won't work. Then without excitement, he said: "It is because the people running our countries are crazy—all crazy." He sells pit props for their mines to both Holland and Belgium. He cuts them in northwestern Germany with Danish workers, living on food from Denmark. Recently he offered the Dutch state mines some props. They named a price of fifty guilders a cubic metre. "I told them they were mad," he said. "They could buy my props from the Belgians for twenty guilders with a shorter haul." I asked them "Why not just pay me twenty guilders." "I don't like making money that easy. It is not a sensible way to do business and it is not right. Do you know what they told me? They said that because I was Danish they could pay in Danish crowns and get the difference from the Dutch government as a subsidy so what did they care about the price. I tell you they are all crazy."

When the British became uneasy about the economic squeeze in ERP and the French still more upset about our Ruhr program some of our "statesmen" began to complain that Soviet propaganda was devilishly aimed at making rifts between the Allies. It is now reported that about the same time, at the request of Great Britain, Norway, Belgium and Greece, the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency sent to Gen. Marshall a strong protest against the "high handed" action by which ECA is trying to hold up dismantling of German industrial plants previously marked for reparations.

In the same paragraph: Secretary Marshall, seeking to remove French fears on the Ruhr, said this country "would never knowingly be involved in any procedure which in our opinion would reestablish a military menace through the industrial development of Germany. . . . It was reported from Germany that several Germans who had held important management posts in the Ruhr under the Nazis have returned to somewhat similar positions."

A little before Dulles was telling Vishinsky how he hated violence and urging him to have the Communists stop using it, two missionaries were writing from Peiping to the New York Times a protest against the Nationalist Army bombing procedure: . . . the actual policy of the government planes seems to be to bomb and strafe any concentration of people they can sight, to attack any building of size whatever its use, and to specialize on cities that have just suffered the trials of siege and capture whether there is any hope of early recovery or not. . . . No one knows the proportion of civilians that have been killed and wounded. . . . These planes and their fuel are from America. Many of their pilots were trained there. Their bombs and ammunition are largely American made, and present American military aid to China is providing heavily toward their support." Later came a correspondent's dispatch from Nanking describing the same practices in the fighting around Suchow.

From Manila comes a description of government tactics against the Huks the resistance force that fought the Japa-

(Continued on next page)

("In Your Papers?"—Continued from page 7)

nese occupation before our troops returned and has since organized peasants and workers to secure a democratic government. "Today the Huks are stronger than ever. For the first time they are entering and holding towns in the face of strong Philippine constabulary garrisons. The government's counter strategy is to terrorize the civilian population. Thousands of peasants have been forcibly evacuated from their barrios (villages). The constabulary operates by suddenly "zonifying" barrios suspected of Huk sympathies, declaring all neighboring farmlands "off limits" and shooting anyone caught in the fields at night—with no questions asked. In overwhelming pro-Huk central Luzon, individuals suspected of Huk affiliations have been herded into concentration camps, beaten and tortured. Peasant Union (PKM) members who trustingly registered during the recent "amnesty" offered by Quirion are now kidnapped and murdered by landlord-hired private gunmen—the so-called civilian guards. Central Luzon is dotted with the charred remains of barrios burned down by government troops because the union was strong there. (The weapons come from the United States).

From the *China Digest*, Hong Kong: "The People's Liberation Army entered the city of Tsinan on Sept. 24. A Military Control Committee, highest administrative body in the newly liberated capital of Shantung province was established immediately. The first thing it did was to issue a proclamation for the protection of life and property inside the city, including all foreign consulates and nationals, provided they did not engage in espionage, sabotage or hiding of war criminals. It called upon the directors of cultural, educational and charitable institutions to continue their work as usual. Banks, factories, shops, stores, warehouses, companies and concerns owned by private capital were to be protected, while those operated by the Kuomintang government were taken over by the democratic government. Private capital in the bureaucratic capitalist enterprise and establishments are being returned to the owners."

Nine democratic organizations in China have sent a long appeal to the Secretary of the U.N. setting forth their grievances against the United States, and then these "concrete proposals: That the U. S. government immediately evacuate all its armed forces from China and stop using army, naval, and air bases in this country. (2) That the U. S. government cease to aid the dictatorial government of Chiang Kai Shek. (3) That all unequal treaties and agreements concluded between Chiang's regime and the U. S. government be abrogated, pending the formation of a new democratic government in China, which will consider the conclusion of new treaties based on true equality and reciprocity." Finally, we must reiterate that the Chinese Delegation led by Wang Shih-chieh of the General Assembly does not represent the view of the Chinese people. It is not representative even of the Kuomintang disciples of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. They will not assume any responsibility for whatever the Delegation may say and the result of their activities."

In the French Assembly: "The Communists said there had been no sabotage until the mines were occupied by the security guards in Lorraine and cited a long list of alleged brutal treatment of miners by the authorities. . . . "Yes" M. Garaudy said, "we have fought, we are fighting and shall fight the Marshall Plan, because it is a plan for the ruin of the French economy and is a plan for war."

The four principal conclusions of Dr. David Bradley's account of the Bikini tests in "No Place to Hide": "There is no real defense against atomic weapons. There are no satisfactory countermeasures and methods of decontamination. There are no satisfactory medical or sanitary safeguards for the people of atomized areas. The devastat-

ing influences of the bomb and its unborn realities may affect the land and its wealth—and therefore its people—for centuries, through the persistence of radio activity."

The CIO Convention has an invocation at all main sessions from our three religious faiths in rotation. The first session goes to a Catholic, usually the local Archbishop or Bishop. (Murray is Catholic, so is Carey, the Secretary-Treasurer, and other national officers). For several years the first invocations have expanded into prepared and released keynote addresses concluding with a few remarks addressed to the Deity. This year the Archbishop used the occasion to introduce the Vatican "industry council plan" which is the Keystone of its clerical corporatism, to be found in action in Spain and Portugal, and not long ago proposed for Quebec. "The philosophy of the Industry Council program is thus admirably summarized on the masthead of a Detroit paper," he read the full text of a seven point program in which capitalists and workers would be happily united in all industries and guided by a national economic council. He did not inform his hearers that the paper he was quoting is the organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, nor did he mention that the whole program for the corporate state includes the overall guidance of Holy Church. When Murray expressed thanks for the invocation he said that the speech "Encompassed the program of the CIO."

"America need not stand in fear of Communism but should seek to understand it in order that a more harmonious relation may be achieved,"—New Jersey Methodist Annual Conference.

"The Russian people do not want war, and neither does the Kremlin."—Robert Magidoff, U. S. correspondent recently expelled from the U. S. S. R. "Gilmore, (A.P. correspondent in Moscow) who speaks Russian, has been trying for days to find Russians who talk about war or even its possibility. He hasn't been able to discover one, not a single Russian, man, woman or child talking war. Not one."—London *Daily Express*.

From a New York *Times* editorial: "Against the 'squeeze' that prevails in small matters throughout Nationalist China let us set the greater and more terrible 'squeeze' of the Communist program. Many of Chiang's officials are doubtless robbing the people of the dollars. A Communist conspiracy is intended to rob them forever of their personal—and family—freedom."

From the new United Services to China appeal: "We believe China presents to America a strategic frontier both for Christianity and for the protection of the free enterprise system."

From Hollywood: "John Cromwell has withdrawn from his assignment as director of "I Married a Communist" at RKO ". . . the problem is to make the scenario anti-Communist without making it anti-labor."

Vishinsky at the U. N.: "The veto is a powerful political tool. There are no such simpletons here as would let it drop. Perhaps we use it more, but that is because we are in the minority and the veto balances power. If we were in the majority we could make such grandiloquent gestures as offering to waive the veto on this or that. . . . We will use the veto until you of the majority stop conspiring."

From "How Scientists Helped One Farm," by Mikhail Sukhanov in the Soviet Information Bulletin, June 20, 1948. Concerning the cooperation of scientists and farmers: "This is natural for both the scientists and the farmers are striving for the same aim—to consolidate the socialist society, to augment its might and wealth. They know that the richer their socialist society is the higher is the material and spiritual life of its people."

The UnAmerican Committee on Communism and Religion

HARRY F. WARD *

The pamphlet "100 Things You Should Know About COMMUNISM AND RELIGION" just issued by the Committee on UnAmerican Activities purports to be a report to tell the people of the United States what Communism seeks to do about religion in the U.S.A. Actually it is no report at all, but a propaganda leaflet written in question and answer form in the style of the Hearst press at its worst. Its technique is that of the lowest type of "thriller." It is indeed a startling experience to see the authority and seal of the United States upon a publication on the level of the lowest type of comic strip and the cheapest sensational melodrama calculated to arouse the passions of those of the lowest intelligence.

The sixteen-page pamphlet covers four main points: What the Communists Would Do To Religion in This Country If They Came to Power; The Nature of Marxism and Leninism in Relation to Religion; What the Communists Have Done to Religion in the Soviet Union; What They Are Trying To Do With It In This Country. The distinction of this publication is that in the first section's description of the fate of religion in a communist United States, it adds to the lies and half-truths which have been the stock-in-trade of the Committee in its previous publicity, oral and written, the element of unbridled imagination. The picture is so fantastic that the reader wonders whether he is really awake.

It is impossible to give more than a few examples of the falsehoods and half-truths in this document but they are thoroughly typical of its whole character. "Would the Communists destroy the Bible? Every copy they could find, and they would jail anybody trying to print new copies." The facts are: As early as 1926, an edition of the Bible was run off on Government presses; in '43 publication of the Bible, the Koran and other religious texts were resumed and all religious societies are free to publish and distribute. On September 13, 1946, the American Bible Society reported 5,000 Russian Testaments and Psalms, 100,000 Russian Bibles and 500 Greek Orthodox New Testaments donated to Patriarch Alexei in Moscow and distributed throughout the U.S.S.R. "Would my child go to Sunday School? Not only would Sunday School be illegal, but also your child would be taught to report you to the police for trying to send him." August 1946, after thorough research confirmed by numerous observers, Professor of History, John S. Curtiss at Duke University, wrote "the right of propaganda also includes religious instruction of children. . . . Although religious instruction is forbidden in the public schools, there are apparently no other restrictions."

"Only the Orthodox Sect is allowed any activity at all." In July, '46, after a trip to the U.S.S.R., Rev. Louie D. Newton, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, reported 3,000 Baptist churches, 2,500 ministers, over 2,000,000 members. He produced photographs showing the large congregations to which he preached. July 4, 1948, the *Herald Tribune* reported ten major religious groups in the U.S.S.R. —seven Christian, one each Mohammedan, Buddhist and Jewish. In addition several minor groups such as Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, Molohans, and Karains.

"Marxism-Leninism" is summarily described as a plan and method to rule the world. In "proof of this" and other similar statements the reader is referred to thousands of volumes of Communist official literature in the Library of Congress. Anybody who even took the trouble to glance at the titles would find out that they covered a philosophy of history, a philosophy of the laws of the mind and nature, a scientific analysis of economics, a plan and a beginning program for a new social order. All of this which has occupied and will occupy for all time the attention of scholars all over

the world is presented to the American people for propaganda purposes as an attempt to rule the world.

It is in the description of Marx as an "evil and crazy man" to whom "anything is moral—even lying, stealing and murder, if it brings on communism" that the writer stoops to the lowest depths of falsehood. This will be manifest at once to anybody who takes the trouble to read even an Encyclopedia article on Marx. Those who read Professor Tillich on Marx in the *Christian Century* this summer will remember the scorn with which that scholar dismisses those who go even so far as interpreting his philosophy as materialistic in the moral sense. "To call him materialistic in the moral sense is a sign either of ignorance or of propagandistic dishonesty. His criticism of idealism is carried by a tremendous moral passion."

Typical of the half-truth part of this pamphlet's method are the references to the communist teaching of atheism, both at the beginning of the Soviet Union and now. "The spread of atheist views is our chief task. (Lenin) . . . anti-religious propaganda, the most important task in the struggle for the triumph of communism in the U.S.S.R." These quotations refer to the work of the Communist Party. From the beginning, the State in its Constitution has guaranteed freedom of religion. Evidence previously cited is only a part of what could be presented to show how far this is carried out today. In its appeal for understanding of the Soviet Union, the Federal Council set forth clearly the proposal that the challenge of communist doctrine to our faith had to be met in the field of discussion and practical living.

The falsehoods of this document in the less than three of its sixteen pages devoted to religion in this country are being sufficiently answered elsewhere. It should be added that the statements that we are "a tool of the Communist Party . . . trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party" is wearisome repetition of the "party-line" note in all witch-hunting propaganda. Our members need no refutation of that. But in answering others they should remember that our program was developed long before there was any Communist Party in this country, and our principles before there were communists anywhere.

The real reasons that this Committee is using falsehoods and dangerous half-truths to try and identify our type of religion with national and international communism is because its real purpose is not to "help you protect your religion and faith from communist attack. . . ." The small amount of material it presents about the churches after its terrific barrage against communism should make that plain. Like all the rest of its work, this pamphlet demonstrates that its real purpose is to stop the spread of ideas and activities which make for progress in human living and so are dangerous to the power of those special interests that are increasingly controlling this country. How far it proposes to go in suppressing the spread of ideas is shown by its citing a ministers seminar for hearing a communist speaker, without, of course, mentioning that a number of speakers from the Government and other public and semi-public bodies were also heard.

This document adds to the evidence of the hearings and previous pronouncements of the Committee which demonstrate, as many of our prominent newspapers, public organizations and leading citizens, including two Presidents, have said, that this Committee never has been an investigating body but only a propaganda agency. It can without exaggeration be said that this pamphlet shows that this propaganda is now without attempted accuracy, any restraint of conscience, and even at times any regard for decency. Its pronouncement on communism and religion is an insult to

* Dr. Harry F. Ward, former Executive Secretary of the MFSA, is well known to all Federationists.

the intelligence of the American people and a disgrace to the American government.

Its menace however is real. It is proposing a bill to permit it to issue ten million copies of the series of five pamphlets of which this is one. Its present permission is for only 15,000 copies. It also has announced the intention of submitting to the house for permission to put into the Congressional Record a long list of clergymen who have been affiliated with ten or more communist fronts. From two references in the present document, Clark's list of subversive organizations is to be the test. Our bishops last year pointed out that the order under which this list was prepared called for a procedure which was in certain particulars itself "unAmerican." It may be added that the list is no more accurate than many of the statements above cited. While the lawyers who prepared it and the F.B.I. which supplied the data have some restraint which the unAmerican Committee lacks, they have no more competence as investigators in this field than the unAmerican Committee. This will be clearly demonstrated when the courts pass judgment on why certain organizations were placed upon the list. Consequently, if the churches are to meet the threat not simply to religion but to the progress of the American way of life embodied in the Committee's attack upon them, they will need not only to demand of Congress that it cease to place the authority of the United States on falsehood, but also of the President that he withdraw the order which makes the Attorney General the czar over organizations that are seeking to serve the public.

Race Relations

A STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, stressing opposition to a racially-segregated society, was unanimously adopted by the 40th anniversary convention of the Federal Council of Churches here.

It was hailed by delegates as the most complete and specific declaration on the subject ever issued by the Council.

Denouncing "the pattern of segregation" as "unnecessary and undesirable" and a violation of the "gospel of love and human brotherhood," the statement called upon American churches to work for the creation of a non-segregated society "as proof of their sincerity."

Three general categories of "full opportunity" for which Christians should work and which are to apply to all people "regardless of race, color, sex, birth, class or creed," were listed by the Council. These are:

Full opportunity to participate in the economic resources of the community; full opportunity, on a non-segregated basis, to participate in the social and public life of the community; and full opportunity to participate in the political community.

Labor Concern

THE FIRST GRANTS from the Sidney Hillman Foundation went to four universities for scholarships, to Dr. Frank P. Graham for his "selfless public service," and to British author Harold J. Laski for a lecture tour of the U. S. next spring.

A total of \$30,000 was allocated from the million-dollar foundation, which was set up in memory of the late Sidney Hillman, leader of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers and one of the founders of the CIO's Political Action Committee. After Hillman's death in 1946, the Foundation was organized and funds raised from unions, employers in the garment industry, and Hillman's many associates in public life.

For 1948-49, ACW Pres. Jacob Potofsky announced that \$5,000 had been granted to Roosevelt College in Chicago, and \$2,000 each to New School for Social Research, New York City; the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., and Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and chairman of the World War II Labor Board, was awarded \$1,000.

For the Laski tour, up to \$10,000 will be granted, to cover a series of lectures on "the role of trade unions in the U. S." and to pay for publication of the talks. An additional \$4,000 for research projects, awards still open, was allocated.

The Cooperative Movement

BUYING THEIR SUPPLIES from their cooperative wholesale, Consumers Cooperative Association, paid off for the member associations in a big way this year. On the average, the 1,400 member associations saved \$1.70 on their purchases from CCA for every \$1 they saved on their own retail operations. Their savings thus were more than doubled by having their own wholesale association to patronize. Without it, their savings on the average would have been only 37 per cent as large as they were. This fact was heralded at the recent annual meeting of CCA as striking evidence of the value to farmers of extending their cooperative activity beyond local retailing into wholesaling, processing and manufacturing.

Federal Council Resolution

Cincinnati—A resolution condemning the House Committee on Un-American Activities and calling for its abolition was referred to the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches for action at its January meeting by delegates at the Council's 40th anniversary convention here.

The resolution, presented at the close of the convention, was referred to the executive committee on the suggestion of the business committee because of lack of time for thorough study.

In referring the resolution to the committee, the delegates unanimously agreed to a statement stressing that there was no intention of sidetracking the proposal. The resolution, they said, must "receive the serious attention it deserves."

"As Christians and as citizens we are concerned for the safeguarding of our democracy and individual liberties inherent in it," the resolution declared.

"From that standpoint," it added, "we have examined the record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities including its latest excursion into the field of religion. Individuals who should be assumed innocent until proven guilty have been labeled guilty without hearing or trial.

"In the interest of our democracy and peace we call for the Committee's abolition. We call for a new democratic Congressional Committee on Civil Liberties."

Approved in principle, but referred to the Department of International Justice and Goodwill for study and report to the executive committee, was a resolution opposing any military or economic aid to Franco Spain.

Emphasizing that the convention had adopted a statement on human rights, the resolution reminded "our people of Generalissimo Franco's rise to dictatorial power in Spain by the evil might and intervention of Mussolini and Hitler."

It declared "the arbitrariness and repressive cruelty of his regime is a determined violation of human rights by the operations of his military dictatorship and secret police."

Military or economic aid, it added, "would betray our devotion to liberty and would show our alliance with Generalissimo Franco in establishing the bondage of his regime on the freedom-loving people of Spain."

Just about the time you think you can make ends meet, somebody moves the ends.—Geraldine Ross.

The greatest use for life is to spend it for something that outlasts it.—Wm. James.

Federation Activities and Reports

A GREATER CINCINNATI CHAPTER of the Federation has recently been organized. It will meet monthly to discuss social issues and take constructive social action. As is the case in most local chapters, it cuts across Conference lines, taking in members from the Ohio, Kentucky and Lexington Conferences. We are happy that it will therefore be an interracial group.

THE NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER in its recent meeting heard a report on the administration of relief to the needy under the City's Department of Welfare. The report, given by a representative of the Welfare Local of the UPW, disclosed that the Commissioner of Welfare (who is thoroughly untrained for the post) has adopted a new policy—insisting that social workers (now called “investigators”) “are not to concern themselves with the emotional problems of recipients of public assistance” and are to “avoid an overwillingness to do things for the client.” The speaker cited figures which showed that relief recipients are getting food, clothing and other allowances based on prices existent in the City before the death of OPA.

Chapter members were concerned to learn also that welfare cases were being housed in disease-ridden municipal lodgings, formerly used to house derelicts; that dark-skinned people were being discriminated against in the matter of housing; that the staff of social workers and clerical helpers were handling twice as many cases as could properly be cared for, with a result of poor morale and ill health among the workers and inadequate visitation and care for the relief recipients.

The Chapter voted to send a delegation of ministers and lay people to visit the Commissioner and the Mayor to see what can be done to bring standards in the Welfare Department up to a decent level.

FEDERATION MEMBERS have taken the initiative in sending protest letters on the House Un-American Committee's recent flight into fantasy and the resultant newspaper articles and editorials. Here are some samples which might give other members and chapters suggestions:

“Honorable Tom Clark,
U. S. Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

“Dear Mr. Clark:

“This morning we were confronted in our newspapers with the statement from the Thomas Committee that the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a ‘tool of the Communist Party.’

“As Secretary of Christian Social Relations for the San Antonio District of the Methodist Church, I wish to protest with great concern such a statement.

“I personally am a member of this Federation, and I am proud to call myself a member. I shall shout it from the housetops.

“The dangerous thing about such statements, Mr. Clark, as you well know, is that first it is one group and then another and then another until we are all labeled. We are Christians and we are trying to practice what the Christian faith has been preaching for 2,000 years.

“Mr. Thomas and Mr. Rankin are opposed to the Federation solely because it is trying to practice the brotherhood of man, an idea advocated a long time ago by a carpenter from Nazareth. Were brotherhood of man, the age-old Christian principle, ever practiced in Mississippi, Mr. Rankin would be out of a job. And I ask you, who is Mr. Thomas to decide who is Christian and who is not Christian? The chairman of the Federation is Bishop Brooks, a Negro

Christian. Mr. Rankin and Mr. Thomas show their very ignorance of the Methodist Church when they refer to the ‘Epworth’ League. The Epworth League has been dead nine years. It is now the ‘Methodist Youth Fellowship.’

“I call upon you to make some public statement denouncing the action of this Committee. I ask you to use your influence to see that the Thomas Committee is used for what it was intended. It is not and shall not be used to send Christians in the Arena again.

“Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. A. L. Voigt, Secretary,
Christian Social Relations.”

December 6, 1948

The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Commission on World Peace and Social Justice of the New Jersey Conference of the Methodist Church, with a church membership of more than 80,000 besides constituents and children, dwelling in the Southern half of the State of New Jersey, most earnestly petitions your worthy body to discontinue the Un-American Activities Committee now headed by Mr. Thomas. We are most emphatic and sincere and very much in earnest in making this petition.

Very respectfully yours,

E. M. Conover
Corresponding Secretary
118 Broadway
Ocean Grove, New Jersey

Movie of the Month

Symphonie Pastorale. French picture, English sub-titles. Starring Michele Morgan and Pierre Blanchar. Showing at Paris Theatre, New York.

This picture is based on a tale by Andre Gide, and is a parable of the conflict between spirit and flesh. A minister wants to be loved spiritually by his blind ward, because it would be a sin for him to love or be loved any other way. She loves him spiritually until she recovers her sight, whereupon she falls in love with his son. He then falls in love with her physically, and the result is tragedy for both. Gide and the picture seem to be saying: the spirit sees differently than the flesh. The eyes of the spirit are not the eyes of the flesh.

Michele Morgan looks a bit too much like a femme fatale to portray the shabby little ward, but otherwise casting, photography, and direction combine with Gide's parable to make this an unusual film.

A. J. S.

MARSHAL FENG MEMORIAL FUND

Marshal Feng always took a deep and sympathetic interest in China's student movement which today plays such a heroic role in the common struggle against tyranny. Thousands of these students are desperately in need of food, clothing, books, and other basic necessities. We can make our remembrance of Marshal Feng more significant and real by contributing toward their urgent needs. The Memorial Committee will be glad to accept your gift and send it to the National Student Federation of China. Please make checks payable to Ernest Osborne, Apt. 54, 106 Morningside Drive, New York City 27.

The Federation Mailbag

Williamstown, Mass
Dec. 9, 1948.

Dear Mr. McMichael:

Congratulations are in order on the honor which has been paid you and the Federation by the un-American Committee. This causes me to look forward to the occasion (referring to speaking at Oskaloosa) with particular zest.

Very sincerely yours,
Frederick L. Schuman,
Professor, Williams College

"DANGEROUS" EPWORTH LEAGUE

Akron 8, Ohio

Dear Jack:

The UnAmerican Committee (this is not a slip of the tongue) has reminded me that I have not sent in my "dues" for this year. Herewith is the check.

I take it the Federation will not take the accusations of the committee lying down. Be sure to let us all know what, if anything, we can do to help.

This may be a crazy notion of mine but after some of the experiences we have had here in Akron during the past year, I am quite convinced that back of such attacks as this on respectable church organizations there is the influence of the reactionary sects which are aiding and abetting the program of such groups as the UnAmerican Activities Committee and other reactionaries. I am of the opinion that it is time we were finding out exactly whether or not this is the case. If it is then the time has come when we ought to begin to expose such groups for what they are.

Incidentally, one of the headlines I saw says that the committee included the Epworth League as dangerous, which is to laugh since there has been no such organization since 1939.

Best wishes as you carry on the fight.

Cordially yours,
Alva I. Cox
Executive Secretary
N. E. Ohio Conference
Board of Education

P.S.: Rep. Huber of Akron has declared it to be his mission in the coming Congress to get rid of the UnAmerican Activities Committee. Am writing him.

REMINDER

Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

I hope that the attack by the un-American Committee will serve to remind other people as it has me, that they should have sent you a check long ago. Enclosed is mine.

Mairi carried Oxnem's statement on her radio program today—and yours yesterday.

Yours,
Clark Foreman

LEGAL ANSWER

Des Moines 12, Iowa

Friend of Mine:

Enclosed you will find a copy of what our newspaper, which covers the entire State of Iowa, said about the Federation last night. One of our leading lawyers, who read it, is answering it today. He is writing to the newspaper an answering presentation of facts. Personally, I feel that many people do not know there is a Christian-Protestant viewpoint, and so if anything is not Catholic they may label it Communist.

Yours ever,
(Bishop) Charles B. Brashares

FREE-SWINGING

New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Jack McMichael:

It looks as though the House UnAmerican Activities Committee is off on one of its free-swinging jaunts again. I hope that the Methodist Federation nails the report.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick E. Robin,
Exec. Secy.
Committee for the Nation's Health, Inc.

LEWIS EXPOSED

Kansas Wesleyan University
Salina, Kansas

Dear Jack McMichael:

I see that our Federation is getting some publicity from Fulton Lewis, Jr. His untrue and unfair statements ought to be publicly exposed.

Sincerely,
E. Eldredge Brewster

PSYCHOPATHICS

El Dorado Springs, Mo.

Dear friends:

Please consider the signature which I affix to this sheet usable at your discretion to undersign any statement or action you may print to the effect that if MFSA is subversive of true Americanism, then either true Americanism is unChristian according to the criterion of the New Testament (any version, ancient or modern), or else our accusers are.

I do now offer my services as a writer *gratis* for whatever they may be worth and if and when they may be of any value to you by way of utilizing the favorable publicity now being given to us by these gentlemen who apparently are playing long and loud upon their harp of one string.

It is worth a busy man's time (mine) to undertake to state privately or publicly how unpatriotically these prosecutors of us and our program are playing into the hands of all antiAmerican groups by seeking to shatter our American citizenry into mutually hostile camps, divisioned and arrayed against each other according to the self-determined criterion of these gentlemen who are using the people's money to frighten and make antagonistic to each other a long and lengthening list of well-known and constructive bodies within our nation?

Yesterday on the streets of this town our postmaster said to me, when I was urging him as a member of our board of stewards to come to church: "I will if you will promise me not to try to scare me by preaching against Communism!"

Will the unAmerican Activities gentlemen be willing to include in their expense budget the price of all the prescriptions druggists are now compounding all over the nation to quiet the nerves of the people whom the metropolitan dailies (certain ones in chains), the movies (certain ones) and they themselves, these gentlemen, are pushing beyond their individual threshold of tolerance, neuropathologically and/or psychopathologically speaking?

Sincerely,
Rev. Mims T. Workman

LAY SUPPORT

Mill Valley, California

Dear Jack:

The most recent assault upon the Federation by Mr. Parnell Thomas should nerve us all the more to put forth effort. Don't allow the strictures of the UnAmerican Committee to discourage you. If we will only build a broader base of support among the laity of the church we will lick these problems. I have right now in this little church a number of laymen who think our way and I am sure will join when I go after them. So is it in every church.

Cordially,
Rev. Edward Peet

PROTEST

San Antonio, Texas

Dear Mr. McMichael:

I read in the morning newspapers where the Thomas Committee had labelled the Federation as a "communist tool." I have written letters to Sam Rayburn and Tom Clark, both of Texas, protesting such statement.

I hope you will be able to secure official statements from some of our Bishops denouncing this statement by the Thomas Committee. It is not only what they are trying to do to the Methodist group, but what they are trying to do to all groups which advocate the brotherhood of man.

Of course some of us recognize the attack for what it is. Both Mr. Rankin and Mr. Thomas are anti-Negro. Bishop Brooks is a Negro. Should the brotherhood of man be adopted in Mississippi, Mr. Rankin would be out of a job.

Sincerely,
Mrs. A. L. Voigt, Secretary
Christian Social Relations
San Antonio District

STATEMENT FROM DEARBORN

Mt. Olivet Methodist Church
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Jack:

Enclosed is a statement that I have mailed to the President on the Methodist Federation for Social Action as well as another statement prepared by the members of Mount Olivet Church. We are soliciting signatures of members of the congregation and will send them to you as soon as we have a large number.

I think members of the Federation should be urged to send similar protests. We don't have to be on the defensive. This gives us a chance to offensively attack the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Sincerely,
Edgar M. Wahlberg

"Dear President Truman:

"Monday's papers carry the story that a Congressional Committee has charged the Methodist Federation for Social Action with being a communist front organization.

"I have been an active member and an officer in this organization for many years. I can hardly believe what I read. This means that an agency of our government has not only violated our American tradition of religious freedom but has delivered a dishonest attack on religion.

"The publicity relative to the action of the Committee on Un-American Activities would lead readers to believe that this Federation is a clever communist strategy recently inspired and organized by them to use such dupes as may characterize many Bishops, Christian especially Methodist ministers, and Church people.

"The Federation was organized December 3, 1907, twenty years before the communist revolution in Russia and forty years before the Un-American Committee became a threat to civil and religious liberties. It was organized 'To deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study social problems from the Christian point of view, and to promote social service in the spirit of Jesus Christ.'

"The masthead of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, the information organ of the Federation, carries the following statement: 'A membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discrimination and privileges.'

"The Federation has carried on its program for forty-one years under the direction of carefully selected leaders in the Methodist Church. Its pronouncements and objectives have been authorized by the democratic action of its membership. You can be assured, Mr. President, that we Methodist Christians will be responsible for our own position.

"The Federation has had the courage to honestly point up controversial issues in conformity with the principles of Jesus and the development of a Christian society.

"This is not the first time in history that Christians have been molested. As recently as the 1930's Hitler sought to silence the voice of those who sought to live by their religious faith and particularly those who tried to put their convictions to work.

"It should now be apparent that the Un-American Activities Committee is a dangerous threat to both civil and religious liberty. It began by limiting the liberties of a small minority with whom few in the United States are sympathetic. It is now barging in to limit the activities of any and all who do not conform to the thinking of those who influence the Committee. American, certainly our Jeffersonian democratic tradition would direct us to protect the civil and religious freedom of every minority as a guarantee to the freedom of all our citizens. History suggests that when we encroach upon the liberties of one group we have set a pattern to deny freedom to all except a powerful dominating group.

"This attack on the Methodist Federation of Social Action should show clearly our lesson in history and direct us to put a stop once and for all to the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. It is hoped that your administration will effectively deal with this undemocratic condition by democratically doing away with it.

"Sincerely yours,
"Edgar M. Wahlberg"

DANGEROUS CHARACTER

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

In spite of the fact that the House "un-American" Activities Committee has considered the Methodist Federation for Social Action a Communist front organization, will you please send me information concerning your organization, and how I may join it.

This latest move by the House un-American Activities Committee is quite an insult to the intelligence of the many ministers and laymen I know who belong to your organization.

I only hope and pray that this will not hinder your activities, but will instead impress upon the minds of our church members the dangerous character of Rep. Thomas and his crew so that they will wake up and do something about it!

Sincerely yours,
Thomas Orr, Jr.

CROSS-EYED REPUBLICANS

Melrose, Mass.

Brothers:

I see at the bottom of page 123 of the November issue of the BULLETIN that leaflet copies of the article "The USA and the USSR Can And Must Get Along," by Lawyer and Author Flamm, are available.

I would like 50 copies of that leaflet that I may help some of my Republican neighbors who are near-sighted and cross-eyed to get another picture of the "Communist" agitation of our newspapers.

Thanks for the missionary ammunition thus made available.

Sincerely,
C. C. P. Hiller

ANNUAL MEETING

Frederick, Md.

Dear Brother McMichael:

After reading the program outlined for the annual membership meeting of the M.F.S.A. to be held at William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, December 28, 29, 30, 1948, I feel sure that it will be a good follow-up to the Kansas City meeting held last December.

My mind goes back to the early months of 1944, when a few of us rallied around Dr. Wade Crawford Barclay and called for a reorganization of the M.F.S.S., with an annual budget of \$10,000, and that we would work to maintain a *working budget* in the future.

Of course, what was meant by a working budget was money on hand to pay necessary salaries, etc., so that the Secretary and others would not have to raise money to pay their own salaries and other operating expenses.

That brings me to the matter referred to in your letter of Nov. 6, 1948, relative to reporting at the annual meeting as free of debt, and in agreement therewith I am enclosing check for \$100 to cover my dues for 1948.

As I see it, here is what the Protestant Church faces today:

1. Labor—What will the Church do about it?

There is not much time to lose, for if we cannot create a favorable atmosphere for Labor within the Protestant Church, and then orient Labor towards such a Church, it will mean only one thing, and that is: A Labor Culture in many parts of our country with Roman Catholicism hovering over it with a *paternalistic influence* which the Vatican knows only too well how to manage.

2. Universal Military Training—What will the Church do about this, the most dangerous and far-reaching of all military plans?

Soon after the Civil War military minds started the agitation for some form of Military Training, and now is the time, they say, to give it the push over.

If U.M.T. is put over for only one generation, then it will mean a changed atmosphere under which to live, and all true plans for extending the Kingdom of God will be set back for generations to come.

We must put forth extraordinary efforts early in 1949 to defeat any military training plan, else the *Dignity of Man* will fall to a very low state in future years.

3. Communism—What will the Church do about this one word which contains more *War Propaganda* than any other

word, or any number of words, found in the English language?

We must stand firm against War—we must not be intimidated—we must continue to fight this vicious propaganda and I feel sure that the speakers and resolutions at the Annual Meeting will point the way to positive action.

The above statements, to a large extent, will influence my actions during 1949 and you can count on me to the limit of my ability.

Sincerely yours,
John M. Grove

P.S.: I have noted the attack by House Committee and your reply as reported by A.P.—good.

J. M. G.

APPEAL FOR AID

Halle (Saale), Germany

Dear Sir:

In our town of Halle there is scarcely an occasion to read American articles. Notwithstanding I read accidentally your essay "What Causes Alcoholism?". The matter as well as your style have satisfied and pleased me beyond measure. People should be grateful to read such fine articles. But I see life in U.S.A. is quite different from that of our country. Why—I often ask myself—have we to suffer so much in our country? The horrible World War has destroyed all that is valuable and precious to us: home, house, property, and relationship. Besides, our health is still in danger; men, women, and children must be saved from death by starvation.

I think Americans will prove understanding, sympathy, and good will when they hear about their fellow-men in grave need. Shall I describe to you the difficulties in my own home? I know it is not agreeable to hear such things, but I consider it a moral obligation. As my poor wife is suffering for years from horrible neuralgia and neurasthenia she is unable to wait in line in front of shops. At every attempt to do so she swoons. At home her gouty fingers hinder her from housekeeping. She has a very delicate health, therefore she cannot endure all the privations. The low standard of living causes a permanent mental suffering, too. How many tears are wept each day! In winter time there is not fuel enough to heat our rooms. We have also an extraordinary want of clothing, linen, and under-clothing; within a short time our clothes-basket will be totally empty. You see, we have boundless cares and troubles. But the main burden is my poor wife's illness; all doctors here order her food of high quality such as milk, eggs, lard, cocoa to avoid collapse. But we cannot buy them; such food is not available here.

I know our countrymen in the American occupation zone get in such cases gift packages from CARE, New York, as the American people is seized of the moral initiative to do their utmost in responding to our great need. But I have learned that unfortunately CARE is not admitted in the zone we are living in. Only private help can save us! As you are working in a Federation for social service, I think it is perhaps possible to help us by sending us a gift package (allowed to be sent into our zone) to assist my sick wife, as in U.S.A. there are plenty of wealthy men to pay it and many of them are full of charity, philanthropy, and compassion.

So I hope you will give a good reply within a short time.

I remain very truly yours,

Friedrich Apel
5 Beethoven Strasse
19a Halle (S)
Germany
Russ. Zone

ZIONISM AGAIN

New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McMichael:

I must take issue with several of the points raised by Mr. C. C. McCown in his letter published in the October SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. Mr. McCown demonstrates his utter lack of knowledge about Zionism and the Zionist movement by describing it as "imperialistic," as "communistic" and as "chauvinistic nationalism" as "irreligious, if not anti-religious." If any statements are mendacious, these are!

Let us Christians be fair. Let us do some introspecting. Had it not been for the un-Christian acts of so-called Christian nations which culminated in Hitler's barbarism, there might never have been a need for a Jewish "homeland" and state. As it is, there is no alternative. The Jews have been victimized as scapegoats long enough and it is to their credit that they are doing something creative about it.

Their actions, however, were not imperialistic. They began to settle in Palestine in large numbers before the close of the last century. As everyone familiar with the growth of the Jewish community in Palestine knows, they purchased every square inch of land at exorbitant prices from Arab landlords, including the infamous Mufti, and will continue to do so from those Arabs willing to sell. (This is strikingly different from our actions in taking Mexico.)

After Turkey was defeated by the Allies in World War I, the League of Nations became custodians of the Turkish Empire, and divided the land in terms of the enlightened principle of self-determination of peoples. They wished to give both Jews and Arabs the privilege of democratic self-government. Accordingly, the Arabs won independence in over one million square miles of territory and the Jews were promised Palestine (then including Transjordan or 45,000 square miles) as their national home. Fifty-two nations of the world, plus the United States, endorsed this verdict as just and right! How can these facts be squared with the charge of imperialism? In the interest of being just and to live in harmony with their Arab neighbors, the Jews accepted a second partition when on November 29, 1947, the United Nations voted to create two independent states, one Jewish and one Arab, in Palestine. This solution was recommended by an 11 member committee made up of small nations and was adopted without strong U. S. pressure! How else can you explain Cuba voting against the resolution and Greece, Mexico, Haiti, and even Liberia, abstaining?

As to the charge that Zionists are communists "of the Russian type," I can only reply that this is sheer fabrication. Mr. McCown must know that there is but one communist represented in the government of Israel and that he represents an extremely weak party organization. Israel's system of proportional representation makes it possible for him to serve, but he has little support or respect. The vast majority of the citizens of Israel believe wholeheartedly in democracy. They have tasted too much of dictatorship and exploitation to institute such a regime in Palestine.

That the Zionists are irreligious or anti-religious, is also untrue. Some have charged that it is a theocracy. Both can't be right! The fact is that Israel has accepted the American principle of the separation of church and state. To be sure, there is a strong secularist movement in Palestine, but one must understand the background of that movement to judge it properly. The individuals in this movement are mostly idealists who, because of religious persecution, became convinced that religion was a divisive and destructive force. It prevented man from arriving at the goal of brotherhood and justice and was, therefore, to be discarded. It is the shame of Christianity that this attitude developed. However, it should also be realized that this philosophy is losing its strength in Palestine. More and more settlements are returning to the traditional lighting of the Sabbath lights and the celebrating of the Holy Days.

While there is this secularized movement in Palestine, it must also have been apparent to Mr. McCown that there is a strong religious movement in Palestine too. The Orthodox Jews of the world are 100% Zionist. Is it possible that that fact would not be reflected in Palestine? The Council for Judaism, an anti-Zionist group, represents no more than 5% of the Jews of the United States and, is itself, not composed entirely of "religious forces."

Zionism, while definitely a form of nationalism, cannot in any respect be compared with Nazism or Fascism or with the nationalism of the Moslem Brotherhoods so active in opposing Israel today. It is more accurately to be compared with the nationalism expressed by Mazzini, the great Italian patriot, who wanted Italy to develop her national culture in order that she might make a constructive contribution to the world. Zionism has as its goals the saving of the lives of the oppressed Jews of the world, the renaissance of Hebrew culture, and the building of constructive relationships with her Arab neighbors and with all nations of the world. This attitude and program is therefore to be contrasted, rather than compared, with the Nazi program of selfish nationalism and genocide. It is important to recognize that the Arabs of Israel, whether Moslem or Christian, will have more rights and democratic expression than the Arabs of any neighboring land, including Egypt. They will have

complete, civil, religious and political rights guaranteed under a progressive democratic constitution. Is this Chauvinism? Efforts to label the entire Jewish community as violently nationalistic because of the terrorism of small dissident groups can hardly be convincing. In view of the police state imposed upon Palestine by Great Britain to prevent the Jews from immigrating as the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine clearly envisaged, the surprising result is not that there was terrorism, but that there was so little—that the Jewish Agency was able to maintain so remarkable a control over its people that they welcomed the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine and accepted the U.N. compromise partition decision.

It should be apparent to all those interested in social progress that the democratic wellbeing of the people of the Near East will not be advanced by supporting the selfish feudal Arab regimes presently in power; that peace and progress will not come by supporting these reactionary forces; that Christianity will have little chance of taking root in this Moslem world until the democratic principles of religious freedom and separation of church and state now in force in Israel are accepted likewise in Arab lands; and that there is little hope for the United Nations and world peace if the Realpolitik of a few large nations—especially Great Britain—can openly support aggression against a solemn U.N. decision in order to gain military bases or oil reserves for itself.

There is room for at least 40 million additional people in the Near East. Natural resources in abundance are waiting for the technology, the capital and industry necessary to develop them for an expanding population. Valley Authorities established on the Jordan, the Tigris, and the Euphrates Rivers would be the type of project required to produce the abundance upon which peace and prosperity can come to Jews, Arabs and all other peoples of the Near East. This approach, rather than the attempts to crush Israel, is the enlightened, the democratic one—the one which will bring success and strength to the United Nations and hope for world peace.

Cordially yours,

Karl Baehr

Executive Secretary

American Christian Palestine Committee

Books and Pamphlets

A Man Called White—autobiography of Walter White. The Viking Press., New York, 1948. \$3.75.

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is not unknown to Federation members. For thirty years, he has through the NAACP engaged vigorously in the fight to gain civil rights for Negroes, sometimes at the risk of his life.

This autobiography of a Negro with white skin and blue eyes who chose not to "pass" has a double importance to readers. First, it is an absorbing personal narrative of White's early awakening to the fact that he was a Negro—"glad that he was not one of those whose story is in the history of the world, a record of bloodshed, rapine and pillage . . . glad that he was part of the races that had not fully awakened, and who therefore had still before them the opportunity to write a record of virtue as a memorandum to Armageddon." There are intimate scenes of young White and his devout family taking up arms to defend their house which was "too good for a nigger" from a raging mob and other such poignant scenes. But here, too, is a detailed history of the NAACP fight from its formation in 1909 to the present day—the dramatic and historically important story of lynchings, race riots, discrimination in schools, the treatment of the Negro in the armed services in two world wars, the denial of civil rights and economic and cultural opportunities to Negroes, filibustering against anti-discrimination legislation in Congress, cases won and lost before the Supreme Court.

Here is an important document for all those interested in seeing the Constitution of the U. S. made a reality. And—Walter White has a lucid style which makes the book easy-reading. Buy it or send for a copy from the Gertrude Ratliff Memorial Library, c/o MFSA, 150 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 11.

Conversations on Success in Marriage. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1948. \$1.50.

Although I have been writing book-reviews for many years now, I am unable to remember when a book of sixty pages has left upon me so distinct and so troubling an influence as the one I am telling you about now.

A chaplain whose photograph on the book's jacket shows him young enough to understand the drives that characterize the psychic and physical life of other young men has revealed what it was like, and how full of quandaries, to be held responsible by his commanding officer to advise him whether or not an American soldier in love with a colored woman where he was stationed (overseas) and who was going to have his baby (or she already had had) should marry her.

How, too, in one case, which he leaves us to see was to his way of thinking typical and only one among many wherein he counselled the same procedure, he recommended to the C.O. that they marry. The American GI and the Hawaiian woman.

The C.O. returned the recommendation to the chaplain and demanded his reason for making that recommendation. Understand now that the C.O. was as much guided by the chaplain's recommendation as the chaplain was in military duty bound to be governed by the good of all concerned including the morale of the service.

All the chaplain felt he could reply to the Colonel was that the matter was in the hands of God. That miscegenation was here and here to stay. That the breaking down of intercultural walls by the war had made the problem widespread.

What the chaplain did not tell the Colonel but what he does tell his readers is that the individuals who had come to him, or to whom he had gone, or whose desperate plight had been forced in some way upon him, were contemplating self-destruction as the obvious solution, and in more than one instance they had either tried it or they were on the edge of trying it.

Since I myself by the kindness of one of MFSA's distinguished members am now a member, I cannot and must not blow my own self up by commending too loudly the courage demanded of an organization like ours if we are going to be first facers of social problems which we see to be now arrived and urgent and not only on a world scale but also are in their quality determinative of whether the persons on whom they have impinged shall try to go on living or just quit whipped.

Also I am well aware how that the nice type of mind can shrug off the whole business by saying such things ought not to be done and such books ought not to be written. That gets no one anywhere. Just nowhere.

I must give my word, however, that the dominant feeling the little diary-type record leaves in me is that we did have in the armed service and we do have, and too in gratifying large numbers, chaplains like Mr. Lovely who were unwilling to be guided by any other consideration than the possible happiness of the persons involved.

So he said to the Colonel that *only God* could assure that such marriages between persons of different race and color would turn out well.

Bright with hope, even though that faith is darkly overshadowed by one's own innate traditionalism, I for one lay down this little book feeling that to this sobering situation, not new except in its now geographical universalism, the only way that gets one anywhere at all is the way Lovely wanted to see tried God is involved.

Bright too that hope is because the chaplain holds uncompromisingly high the Christian ideal of marriage in respect to Christ's demand that every individual who is caught in a social imbroglio has the right to be considered in terms of his or her right to have a chance to be happy in his or her life of love.

The chaplain's determining rule was that the life of love between a man and a woman must be lived out within the relationship of a contracted monogamous marriage. This idea in his own thinking overtopped the fact that the man was white and the woman was colored.

Not because it makes one glad to read it, but because more of us now are forced to think into the matter, and the more of us the better, I am hoping that *Conversations on Success in Marriage* will not prove to be among the neglected books on what the war has done to us which have been published recently. The Beacon Press, Boston, are the publishers. A dollar and a half is the price.

MIMS THORNBURGH WORKMAN

INVITATION TO THOMAS

December 7, 1948

Hon. J. Parnell Thomas
House of Representatives
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

We are informed by the press that, in a document on Communism and Religion released November 22, your Committee on Un-American Activities has applied the red label to two Methodist organizations: the Epworth League, which has not existed since 1939; and the Methodist Federation for Social Action which is democratically led and conducted by Methodist bishops, pastors, lay men and lay women in excellent standing in and with their Church.

As you probably know, the bishops of our Church have unanimously adopted a statement condemning and rejecting your alleged charges and fears concerning communist infiltration and control of Protestant religious organizations. The members of our organization—who decide and determine its course and its policies—are quite interested to see any light you have to give us concerning our organization or the Protestant religion in general. We would be happy to reciprocate also.

We are holding a national membership meeting at William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, December 28-30, to formulate democratically our program and policies for the coming year.

I write this letter—on my own behalf as Executive Secretary, and on behalf of Bishop Robert N. Brooks, our President, to invite you to attend our forthcoming national meeting in Iowa and to address us (at any hour convenient to you on December 28, 29, or 30). We shall be happy to hear from you a statement as to your conclusions, if any, in the field of religion. We shall also welcome opportunity to question you concerning these conclusions in the light of our own knowledge and experience as bishops, clergymen, and laity; and to question you further as to the procedures you and your Committee followed in reaching any conclusions you might have and propagate in this important field of religion.

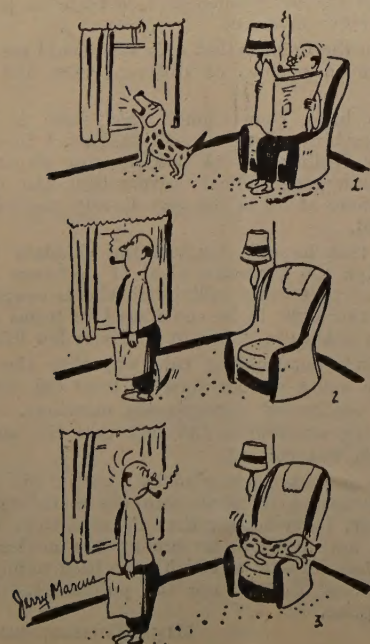
If you, as Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, find it impossible to accept this invitation, it is extended to any other member of the Committee, of either party.

Sincerely yours,

Jack R. McMichael
Executive Secretary

P.S.: We are sorry not to have extended you this invitation sooner, but have only now become aware of your interest in this field.

J. R. M.



Statement to the Press, November 22, 1948

The Un-American Committee's charges against the Methodist Federation for Social Action are ridiculous and untrue. The Methodist Federation is a democratic fellowship of Methodist bishops (more than 20), and 5,571 pastors, church men and women, founded in 1907 and the original source of the Social Creed of the Methodist Church and of the Churches. The Federation's policies and program are formulated and carried out by Methodist bishops, pastors, lay men and lay women loyal to the Gospel of Jesus, to the principles of American democracy, and to the Social Creed and positions of the Methodist Church. These constitute our only "party line." Federation members seek to develop attitudes and actions which conform to the principles of Jesus, John Wesley, and Thomas Jefferson. Obviously they cannot at the same time satisfy men like J. Parnell Thomas and John Rankin of the Un-American Committee.

Officers of the Methodist Federation are: President, Bishop Robert N. Brooks, bishop of the New Orleans area of the Methodist Church; Vice Presidents: Bishop James C. Baker, bishop of the Los Angeles Area of the Methodist Church, former chairman of the International Missionary Council, President of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church; Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, Boston; Bishop W. Earl Ledden, bishop of the Syracuse Area of the Methodist Church, President of the New York State Council of Churches; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Ohio, former President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Dean Walter G. Muelder, dean of the Boston University School of Theology; Recording Secretary, Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church; Treasurer, Dr. Gilbert Q. LeSourd, Associate Secretary of the Missionary Education Movement; Assistant Treasurer, Mr. William W. Reid, Methodist layman and editor of the *Pastor's Journal*, an official Methodist publication.

JACK R. McMICHAEEL
Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action

The Faith of Free Men

(Continued from page 2)

Protestantism does not believe in church control of a state. It believes that the religion of free men should express itself through those free men in democratically determined measures that bring abundant life to society. Protestantism is the strongest religious force in the world seeking to maintain freedom. It is pertinent to ask, Where was the much-heralded Archbishop Stepinac and what were his relations with the Nazis when Bishop Berggrav of Norway was in prison and Pastor Niemoller of Germany in the concentration camp?

A Statement by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church

(Continued from page 4)

We who know the church know these charges to be false. We deplore any statement from any source which defames a great Christian communion representing millions of faithful Christians and loyal Americans. As the Bishops of the church we seek to practice Christian charity and to exemplify the grace of patience, but we cannot and will not remain silent when confronted by practices at once un-American and a threat to a free church in a free society.